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TELCON  
Robert McNamara  
Sec. Kissinger  
10:50 a.m.,  
November 17, 1976

RELEASED IN FULL

M: How are you these days? I am doing very well.

K: Do you need an international researcher.

M: I am asking you. You need some help on that book. I am delighted to do anything for you. Last Saturday I was in Pakistan and Bhutto in a conversation asked me to pass on a bit of information. He said that the Soviet Ambassador acting under instructions came to see him and told him that the Egyptian For. Min. which would have been about 10 days go from now, was in Bulgaria and met with Gromyko and made two points. 1. He apologized for the UAR's past behavior and added they had been besieged by you. He did not put much weight on it.

K: Does he believe it.

M: He believes it in effect it is Sadat's duplicity approach to foreign policy. He doesn't think the UAR is moving into strong relations.

K: He believes he actually said that?

M: He believes it. Fahmy said that was right. To me it is important because I have seen him since. Sadat's power is limited in dealing with his own internal and external problems. We are having a hell of a problem with him. That is really the only reason for passing it own to you. I think it is a sign of weakness.

K: Listen, Bob, I will tell you one thing, no matter how much you prepare yourself--I don't know whether you went through it, but when you finally separate yourself it is sort of a shock but I was in that state of shock until we made that UN vote and the Jews started unleashing on me. And I am a new man now.

M: I know you are.

K: Here we are. We have vetoed 8 resolutions for the past years. Given them \$4 billion in aid. Voted for resolutions composed entirely of our own statements and deleted things we objected to previously and we still or treated as if we have done nothing for them.

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M: I was amused when he added up loss in sales and aid to US sales to Israel and said I think you are paying too much for what you are getting from them.

K: Whatever we are paying for it is not gratitude.

M: I have found out that you cannot buy gratitude. I get kicked around and so annoyed by people.

K: I was pleased at what Harriman said about you the other day.

M: You are so nice. I must say I was very pleased too.

K: It is long over due.

M: I started to read this morning that Schell book. I just got back from Asia and I am still on that time. You know who Jonathan Schell is.

K: He is a Harvard guy and has written some intelligence pieces.

M: He is intelligent but hammering and saying that the problem with Vietnam is that we all liked.

K: They don't understand that all of us were confused.

M: Therefore the public is getting the wrong lesson. It was not that they were led by a bunch of liars it was by people who did not see the problem. The Pentagon Papers were to allow scholars to look over the past and see what the lessons were and the stupid NY Times and the rest have drawn the wrong conclusions.

K: Because they were using it for political reasons.

M: Or to sell newspapers.

K: I don't know whether it will happen but when I write my recollections of that period I will have to go back to '67. Even if I write about 69. I will have to have a flashback to '67 which you handled practically alone.

M: I don't know whether I told you but in the beginning of that, someday I will tell you how that happened. Because I was alone. The rest of the people were not interested in it. They thought it was not worth pursuing.

K: You can't say this but one of the chief people against it in the meeting I attended with the President was Clark Clifford.

M: Absolutely.

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K: In October 67...

M: No question.

K: He described me as one of the Harvard professors -- were you there.

M: I was.

K: You remember. He said all the wrong things that Johnson had done. Also the intellectuals asked for something more and this was just another ploy.

M: No question. On many occasions. I have never said this to others but you were present and saw it.

K: I appreciate it. I am not surprised.

M: It is a sign of weakness and that is the important thing.

K: Also a sign of incipient duplicity.

M: O.K. See you soon.

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